1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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622 624 554 565 Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and [602] area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

622 624 [592] Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually [602] between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

618 602 Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a [601] multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small. 582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage 612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a 571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to 584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al- 612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *ko-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins, 601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the 626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother [591] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in [551] village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is [835] almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between [827] families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *siaosiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

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APPENDIX 2

Kinship Terminology for Cousins in Hsin Hsing

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In the accompanying lists of kinship terminology for first cousins used in the Hsin Hsing area, it can be seen that the terms of reference for all first cousins have three Chinese characters. The character in the third position is in actuality a sibling term and is used for all types of cousins as well as for siblings; it varies only on the basis of sex and age. For example, *hsiung*, older brother (under kinship chart and list numbers 9, 14, 38) or *mei*, younger sister (under chart and list numbers 13, 17, 44) would be used in this position. These characters, however, are not very important in distinguishing relationships since they are also used rather indiscriminately by the villagers (and Chinese generally) as courtesy terms for many people with whom no kinship relationship exists. However, the other two terms or characters are significant, since they do indicate important distinctions beyond that of sex and age, between the four types of first cousins.

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The most significant distinction between types of first cousins is that of bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins (father's brother's children) and the other three types of first cousins: patrilateral cross-cousins, matrilateral cross-cousins, and matrilateral parallel cousins. This distinction is indicated in the kinship terminology by the first two characters used. *Only* patrilateral parallel cousins have as their first two characters *shu pe* (meaning paternal uncle and noted under kinship chart and list numbers 18 and 21).

The other three types of cousins are designated by two different characters which sharply distinguish them from patrilateral parallel cousins. The second of these two different characters is always "*piao*" (loosely translated as "outside"-relatives and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 41, 44, 45, 47, and so on). This term is applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of mother's brothers as well as mother's sisters.

In the latter three types of cousins (all of which have the middle character "*piao*"), we again find bifurcation indicated. This time, according to informants, it is the first character which distinguishes patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins from matrilateral parallel-cousins, at least in the Hsin Hsing area and also generally in the west-central coastal area of Taiwan. The first character for both types of cross-cousins is "*ku*" (meaning girl or parental aunt and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 45, 47, and so on). Only the matrilateral parallel cousins (mother's sister's children) have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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as a first character *"I"* (meaning wife's sister and mother's sister and found under the kinship chart and list numbers 41, 44, and so on).

Therefore, in order to categorize the Chinese system of kinship terminology for first cousins, we must consider the following: (1) the initial and most significant bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins and the other three types of cousins (the patrilateral parallel cousin is also the only one with whom marriage is, of course, strictly forbidden), and (2) the secondary bifurcation between the patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins and the matrilateral parallel cousins (a distinction apparently not found universally throughout China or even throughout Taiwan). This secondary bifurcation, which, terminologically, actually tends to separate matrilateral parallel cousins from both types of cross-cousins as well as from the patrilateral parallel cousins, is also indicated in the fact (as seen in the body of Chapter 5 and in an accompanying note) that while the villagers have these kinship terms for matrilateral parallel cousins, in actuality many of them do not apply the terms to their matrilateral parallel cousins. Rather, they think of them merely as *ch'in ch'i* (relatives), so that Hsin Hsing villagers say that marriage to a matrilateral parallel cousin is the closest one can come to marrying a stranger. Such is clearly not the case for any of the other three types of cousins.

Diagramatically, the distinctions between reference terms for the four types of cousins can be briefly shown as follows:

Bifurcation
- A–Patrilateral parallel cousins
- Patrilateral cross-cousins / B–Matrilateral cross-cousins
- Matrilateral parallel cousins

Bifurcation
- 1–Patrilateral cross-cousins / Matrilateral cross-cousins
- 2–Matrilateral parallel cousins

Examples

Patrilateral parallel cousins	FaBrSo	*Shu pe hsiung*
	FaBrDa	*Shu pe mei*
Patrilateral cross-cousins	FaSiSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	FaSiDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral cross-cousins	MoBrSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	MoBrDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral parallel cousins	MoSiSo	*I piao hsiung*
	MoSiDa	*I piao mei*

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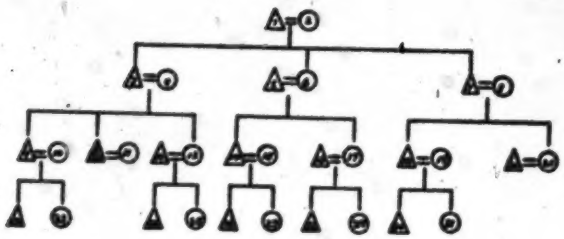
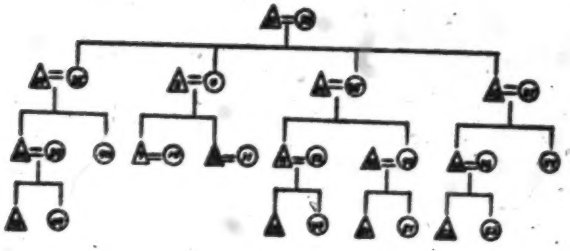


▲ = male ego

FIG. 4. Kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village: male ego's patrilineal and patrilateral kin.



▲ = male ego

FIG. 5. Male ego's matrilateral kin.

a) Terms of reference
b) Terms of address used by ego for his relatives •

1. a) *Tzu fu* 祖父

b) *A kung* 阿公

2. a) *Tzu mu* 祖母

b) *A ma* 阿媽

• Whenever the term of address is omitted, it usually means that ego addresses that particular person by his first name or else some other personal name.

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3. a) *Fu*	父
b) *A pa*	阿爸
4. a) *Mu*	母
b) *A ma*	阿媽
5. a) *Ku chang*	姑丈
b) *Ku chang*	姑丈
6. a) *Ku mu*	姑母
b) *A ku*	阿姑
7. a) *Shu fu*	叔父
b) *A shu*	阿叔
8. a) *Shen mu*	嬸母
b) *A shen*	阿嬸
9. a) *Hsiung*	兄
b) *A hsiung*	阿兄
10. a) *Hsiung sao*	兄嫂
b) *A sao*	阿嫂

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11. a) *Chi* 妻

b) —

12. a) *Mei fu (hsu)* 妹夫 (婿)

b) —

13. a) *Mei* 妹

b) —

14. a) *K'u piao hsiung* 姑表兄

b) *A hsiung* 阿兄

15. a) *K'u piao hsiung sao* 姑表兄嫂

b) *A sao* 阿嫂

16. a) *K'u piao mei fu (hsu)* 姑表妹夫 (婿)

b) —

17. a) *K'u piao mei* 姑表妹

b) —

18. a) *Shu po ti* 叔伯弟

b) —

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19. a) *Shu po ti fu (hsiao shen)* 叔伯弟婦(小嬸) 601

b) —

20. a) *Shu po mei fu (hsi)* 叔伯妹夫(婿)

b) —

21. a) *Shu po mei* 叔伯妹

b) —

22. a) *Chih tzu* 姪子

b) —

23. a) *Chih nu* 姪女

b) —

24. a) *Sheng tzu (wai sheng)* 甥子(外甥)

b) —

25. a) *Sheng nu* 甥女

b) —

26. a) *Ku piao chih tzu* 姑表姪子

b) —

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27. a) *Ku piao chih nu* 姑表姪女

b) —

28. a) *Ku piao sheng tzu* 姑表甥子

b) —

29. a) *Ku piao sheng nu* 姑表甥女

b) —

30. a) *Shu po chih tzu* 叔伯姪子

b) —

31. a) *Shu po chih nu* 叔伯姪女

b) —

32. a) *Wai tzu fu* 外祖父

b) *A kung* 阿公

33. a) *Wai tzu mu* 外祖母

b) *A ma* 阿媽

34. a) *I chang* 姨丈

b) *I chang* 姨丈

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35. a) *I mu* 姨母

b) *A i* 阿姨

36. a) *Chiu fu* 舅父

b) *A chiu* 阿舅

37. a) *Chiu mu* 舅母

b) *A chin* 阿妗

38. a) *I piao hsiung* 姨表兄

b) *A hsiung* 阿兄

39. a) *I piao hsiung sao* 姨表兄嫂

b) *A sao* 阿嫂

40. a) *I piao chieh* 姨表姊

b) *A chieh* 阿姊

41. a) *I piao ti* 姨表弟

b) —

42. a) *I piao ti fu* 姨表弟婦

b) —

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43. a) *I piao mei fu (hsu)* 姨表妹夫(婿)

b) —

44. a) *I piao mei* 姨表妹

b) —

45. a) *Ku piao ti* 姑表弟

b) —

46. a) *Ku piao ti fu* 姑表弟婿

b) —

47. a) *Ku piao mei* 姑表妹

b) —

48. a) *I piao chih tzu* 姨表侄子

b) —

49. a) *I piao chih nu* 姨表侄女

b) —

50. a) *I piao sheng tzu* 姨表甥子

b) —

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51. a) *I piao sheng nu* 姨表姪女

b) —

52. a) *Ku piao chih tzu* 姑表姪子

b) —

53. a) *Ku piao chih nu* 姑表姪女

b) —

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE KINSHIP TERMS

A	阿	Prefix to names of people; used to show respect
Chang	丈	An elder
Ch'i	妻	Wife
Chieh	姊	Elder sister
Chih	姪	Nephew or niece; child of a brother
Chin	妗	Wife of a mother's brother
Chiu	舅	Maternal uncle
Fu	父	Father

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Fu	婦	Woman; wife
Hsiung	兄	Brother; elder brother; a senior
Hsu	婿	Son-in-law
I	姨	Wife's sister; mother's sister
Ku	姑	Girl; paternal aunt
Ku chang	姑丈	Husband of father's sister
Ku mu	姑母	Father's sisters; paternal aunts
Ma	媽	Mother; mama
Mei	妹	Younger sister
Mu	母	Mother
Pa	爸	Father
Pe	伯	Father's elder brothers; uncle
Piao	表	Applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of the mother's brothers; "outside" (relative)

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Sao	嫂	Elder brother's wife
Shen	嬸	Aunt; father's younger brother's wife
Sheng	甥	Children of a sister
Shu	叔	Father's younger brother
Tsu	祖	Ancestor; founder
Tsu	子	Son; a child
Wai	外	Outside; beyond

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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China AF1
Taiwan AD6

these two forms (plus that for the stem family form) have been cited here mainly because they are more detailed, and since they are based on actual Chinese data, they are more descriptive of the Taiwanese situation.

[6] Kulp (1925:145–148) used the term "religious-family" as the best functional name for the "ancestral-group." Hu Hsien-chin (1948:17) used the term "circle of mourning relatives" for a group which is actually identical with Kulp's religious-family.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of cousin marriage in mainland China and Taiwan see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[8] Using Cantonese and Shantung samples, Murdock (1957:664–687) reports that "cross-cousin marriage is allowed symmetrically, i.e., with either MoBrDa or FaSiDa." However, the data gathered for mainland China by Hsu (1945:84), Fried (1953:64n), and so on, and my own data from Taiwan, do not bear out Murdock's point. Again, for further discussion see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[9] This use of *ku piao* as part of the reference terminology used by a male ego for his mother's brother's daughter or son in the general area of Hsin Hsing village may not be as common in other parts of China, including some areas of Taiwan. In other places, especially on the mainland of China, the term used for mother's brother's children may be *chiu piao;* several scholars have insisted it is the only logical kinship term for such a relationship, rather than *ku piao* (which in these other places is supposed to be a term reserved for father's sister's children). All Hsin Hsing village informants questioned on this issue insist that in this area they "have *never* heard *chiu piao* used to refer to mother's brother's children. In fact, *ku piao* is used in most of the central area of Taiwan; this is more convenient than when these cousins refer to each other by different terms." When asked for an explanation of this form in terminology, some villagers noted that "logically mother's brother's children should be *chiu piao.*" But they then immediately insisted that "there is no such term as *chiu piao* in actual practice." However, one or two of all the informants did note that sometimes a distinction is made between father's sister's children and mother's brother's children by referring to the former as *ku piao* and the latter as just *piao* (followed, of course, by the standard term used for an older or younger brother or sister).

Interestingly enough, the differences in patterns and preferences for marriage with the two kinds of cross-cousins (discussed in some detail in the remaining part of the chapter), although explained by "a feeling of greater closeness in blood with father's sister's daughter," is nevertheless not reflected in the kinship terms used for these two kinds of cousins. It is clear then, that in the Hsin Hsing area, the kinship terms used for cross-cousins have little functional value with regard to marriage pattern differentiation.

[10] Exact figures were not easily available, but on the basis of observations and interviews the figures given seem at least close enough to approximate the situation.

[11] According to the law, either a husband or wife can initiate divorce proceedings. Each district now has a semiofficial special office set up by the Kuomintang (K.M.T.) as an arbitration service for marital troubles; if necessary, it will help either or both parties to arrange a divorce settlement. The dis-

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GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES AND WORDS*

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Chao fu	招夫	Adopted-in husband
Chao ti	招弟	To invite in a younger brother
Chen	鎮	A market-township area
Ch'eng szu	承嗣	A term referring to a person adopted for the purpose of "continuing the family line"
Chia	甲	A measure of land equal to about 2.89 acres
Chia chang	家長	Head of an economic family
Chieh	節	A festival
Chieh pai hsiung ti	結拜兄弟	Sworn brothers
Ch'in ch'i	親戚	Matrilateral and affinal relatives, or relatives through adoption
Ch'in t'ang	親堂	People bearing same surname, but not part of same *tsu* (lineage)
Ch'in tsu	親族	Members of the same *tsu* (lineage) or patrilineal kinship group
Ching	驚	A scare (a fright)
Ch'ing Ming Chieh	清明節	A festival for worshipping at graves
Chui hsü	贅婿	Adopted son-in-law

* For additional Chinese kinship terms, see Appendix 2.

*584 *593 *591 at all common. All one can say, then, is that while a sīm-pûà is in some sense married as a child, she is not married in the same sense as the woman who has entered into a conjugal relationship. She becomes a married woman vis à vis her parental family only after the conclusion of the second ceremony makes her the wife of a male in her foster family as well as a daughter-in-law of her foster parents.

*584 *593 *591 602 •[601] But whatever the status of a sīm-pûà as a child, the relationship between her natal family and her foster family is ideally the same as that between the two parties to the preferred patrilocal marriage. The two families are expected to use the usual affinal kinship terminology with regard to one another, and they are also expected to behave in terms of the roles associated with the use of this terminology. Such affinal ties are at best nominal, however, and in most cases they are not recognized at all. When she is still a child a sīm-pûà will sometimes be taken to visit her natal family, and on occasion her mother may visit her in her foster home, but these few contacts seldom create strong ties between the two families. Most sīm-pûà strongly resent their parent's having given them away in adoption, and as a result refuse to stay with their parents or sometimes even to talk to them. Moreover, those few girls who do establish some relationship with their parents do not ordinarily form attachments with their real siblings, so that once their parents die they are not inclined to continue a relationship with their parental family. A sīm-pûà's natal family and her foster family might, of course, pursue an affinal relationship regardless of the girl's involvement, but Chinese families apparently have much

and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster familiy's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a tông-lù, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sim-pû, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cǐ-bó-kàn, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

family are both commonly referred to as sim-pûà, the term lông-lù being used only in its written form and only then for the purpose of registering adoptions with the police. If one needs to distinguish betweem the two categories, one can use the descriptive terms "ū thi-thâu" and "bōu tùi-thâu", "those who have counterparts" and "those who do not have counterparts," but this alternative set of terms is only employed when in the context of the conversation the girl's marriage status is of particular relevance.

This same tendency toward an amalgamation of the two categories is also apparent in the ritual of adoption as it is practiced in Hsiachichou. Regardless of whether or not the child is intended to marry a son of the adopting family, she is always dressed in red on the day she is introduced to her new home, and it is common usage to speak of the token compensation given to an adopted girl's parents as a bride price, ignoring the fact that in many cases the child is not a little bride. When a village prostitute adopted a female child as security against the possibility of her being unable to marry, she too dressed the child in red and spoke of the price she had to pay for the girl as a bride price. Since this woman did not have any sons at the time of the adoption, she was obviously not going to marry the girl to a son, but the adoption was nevertheless transacted as though it were a prelude to a marriage. The child was even taken to her natal family "to be a guest" three days after the adoption, the same as if she were an adult woman marrying in the preferred manner.

*597 606 the root of the conflict created by the preferred form of marriage. A mother can hardly think of herself as being replaced in her son's affections by a woman who is her own daughter, and a man's wife is not likely to work to alienate him from his parents when they are also her parents. She will not, like the wife entering as an adult, see her husband as her only potential ally and will not feel the need to make any of the exclusive claims on him that are so frightening to mothers. She will have accepted her mother's claim on her brother long before she conceived of having any claims of her own on him as a husband. Thus the sīm-pûa marriage solves the mother-in-law daughter-in-law conflict by simply replacing this relationship with the more satis- [601] factory mother-daughter relationship. The daughter-in-law in the preferred marriage only addresses her husband's parents as "father" and "mother," while in the sīm-pûa marriage a woman's husband's parents are her father and mother. One might say that the sīm-pûa marriage creates the social and psychological reality idealized in the kinship terminology.

*597 *593 152 We have already seen that adopted daughters are often cruelly mistreated by their foster parents. One might therefore expect that many adopted daughters would grow up resenting and perhaps hating their foster parents, and that this would result in anything but a satisfactory in-law relationship. This is not the case, however. For reasons which we do not entirely understand, the resentment which many adopted daughters feel as a result of this treatment is usually directed at their natal family rather than their foster family. They blame their biological parents for giving them away rather than their foster parents

THE HOUSE OF LIM

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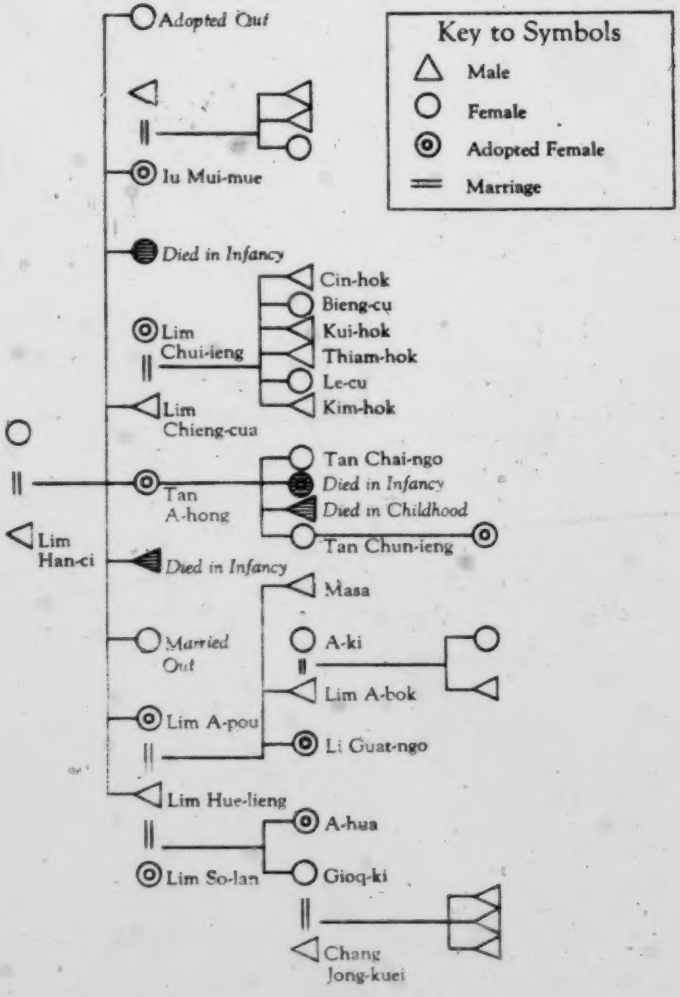

[p. xxi] [p. xxii is blank]

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.

124 173 126 175 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the

LIST OF SYMBOLS

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Male

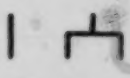
Female

Deceased Male

Deceased Female

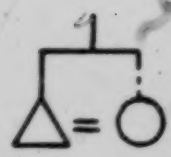
Marriage

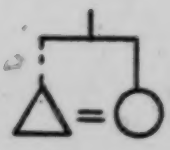
Divorce


Descent

Adoption

Departed via Migration or Adoption


Adopted Daughter Marriage (Siaosiv)


Adopted-in Husband Marriage (Ch[illegible] fu)

123 609 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your 123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assessed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some- 609 584 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order 584 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my 123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had [573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association). [601] A final key may be found in the term of address which

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name). My wife was called A ku (FaSi) by most village children.

114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
137 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

423 chia of paddy land two years prior to the Land-to-the-Tiller act. Due to its location, they let it out to a tenant and, in turn, rented as tenants an equivalent piece adjacent to their respective main holdings. They lost the purchased piece to the tenant but were unable to claim the rented equivalent piece since it was owned by a small landlord, one with less than 3.0 chia. There were several [601] similar cases in the li. Often there was bitterness generated in the exchanges for the landlord-tenants were sometimes ch'in t'ang (agnatic relatives by virtue of possessing the same surname) and even ch'in tsu (agnatic relatives with demonstrated descent).

311 The second most important category was dry land which was quite fragmented but less so than paddy land. The total of 21.0568 chia is divided into 124 plots for a mean size of .1698 chia. The range is from .0003 chia to 2.5435 chia. The medium of .0435 chia once again indicates most plots are considerably smaller than the mean.
244 This land is devoted primarily to tea, oranges, sweet po-
245 tatoes and miscellaneous vegetables. The biggest plot,
311 2.5435 chia, is a single tea farm cultivated by hired labor but owned by a Sanlei villager. Dry land typically is grade 19, less valuable than paddy fields.

311 The third and largest category is mountain or wooded land, 30.2435 chia. Some of this has been left in

599 youngest generation. Huang (5) gave up his second son
602 (6) to Liao (4) in adoption, and his surname (6) was changed from Huang to Liao. Since the household continues as a single chia, the adoption may appear to be a trivial structural modification but this is not true for the adopted son (6) will be different from his siblings in worship and inheritance. He (6) is now attending a junior high school as the only person in the family who has ever gone beyond elementary school, the extra cost borne by his adopted father (4).

599 Adopted boys originate in a manner distinctively
562 different from the manner described for girls. On the one hand, boys are seldom given up as a surplus. They tend to be first or second in birth order and often are merely

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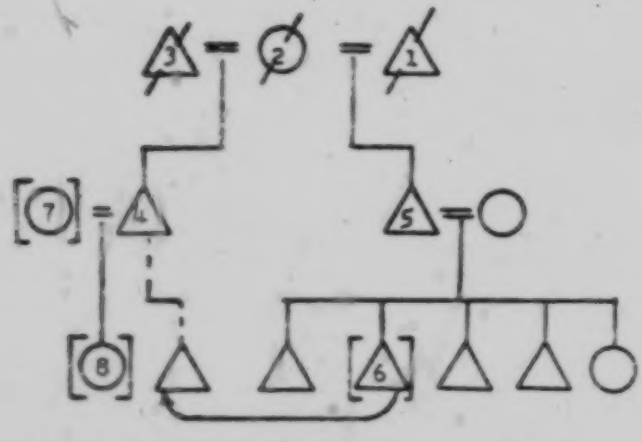

Figure 8. Kinship Diagram, Huang Wen-sheng Chia

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596 area for its own most recent ancestors as described by Gallin (1966:239) for Hsin Hsing.

In contrast to many other reports, in Sanlei the central unifying element in worship is the hsiang lu, ancestor's pot or censer, rather than the ancestor's tablets. This difference is explored more fully in Chapter VI but introduction of the fact is necessary to the current discussion. The basis for membership in a compound is problematical, but certainly involves an agnatic relationship. However, there are other potential members of the compound, some with even better credentials for membership, who live and worship elsewhere. Cadet branches which are established in another living unit may return for common worship for a number of years, to be ended only with the endowment of a new ancestor's pot by carrying ashes from the original pot in a red paper envelope from the old kung t'ing to the new one.

• 601
596 A single Liao "compound" is illustrated in Figure 12. One part of the diagram consists of a kinship diagram of the descendants of Liao Chin-I, but omits those who are dead, adopted-out, married-out, or moved away except when necessary to indicate genealogical connections. Currently, there are six legal and actual hu (households). Each hu is a nuclear unit, indicated with a letter, i.e., A, B, etc., and with its respective chia chang (head) indicated
5% by cross-hatching. The second part of the diagram is a

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307 1

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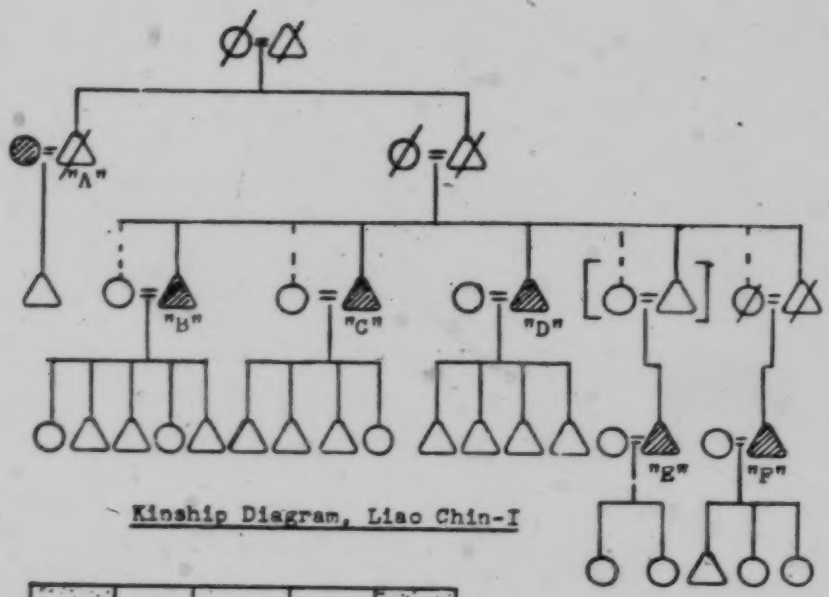
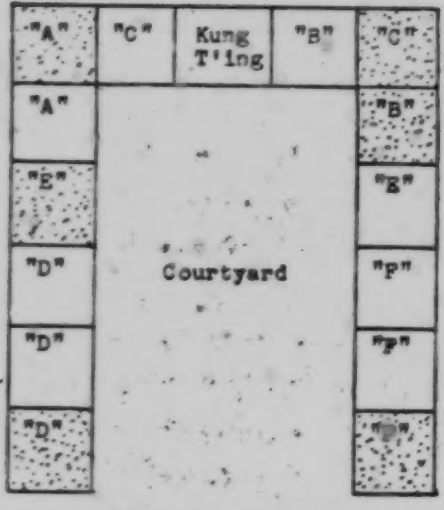


Kinship Diagram, Liao Chin-I



Building Diagram, Liao Chin-I "Compound"

Note
In the kinship diagram, each chia is identified with a letter which also designates the owner of the rooms in the dwelling unit. The kitchen for each hu is indicated by dots. The chia chang of each family is identified by cross-hatching. The kung t'ing and the courtyard are owned jointly.

Figure 12. Kinship and Dwelling Diagram, Liao Chin-I